

Peace News

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Canon COLLINS and Dr. SOPER call for a British lead AGAINST BASES AND H-BOMBERS

ALGERIA: The ferment in France

By PIERRE ELLY

Peace News Special Correspondent

FRANCE seems to be engaged in a war without end in Algeria, and here in France the official propaganda seems to have carried its point.

The bloodshed resulting from the many quarrels and settlements between Algerians of opposing factions who have settled in France has turned public opinion against them.

The great writer Albert Camus has stopped pleading the cause of the rebels since they started attacking civilians and throwing bombs indiscriminately into crowds.

Many people are convinced that if French troops were withdrawn from Algeria chaos and civil war would ensue.

French children have been taught to consider Algeria as part of France herself, and ideas and feelings inculcated in early childhood die hard. Oil-fields in the Sahara desert are presented as the key to our future prosperity and greatness.

But pipe-lines necessary to bring the crude-oil to the distant shore cannot be kept by soldiers indefinitely. France cannot afford to have half-a-million of her young men permanently immobilised in Algeria where they are producing nothing and costing a lot.

SPRIT OF REVOLT

The Right-wing parties here in France would like to maintain all the privileges of the French settlers in Algeria. They refuse to agree to democratic elections taking place in Algeria. Even if they do not actually do so, their ideal is a policy of segregation as it is practised in South Africa.

As they know that such a policy is incompatible with French ideals in time of peace they are in no hurry to see the end of the emergency. As long as the war lasts there is an excuse for postponing the application of democratic reforms.

They voted for the framework law (p. iv) last November in the National Assembly with the secret hope that even it would never be applied. They expect that complete military victory will stamp out the rebellion for ever, but they forget the fact that the spirit of revolt in Asia and Africa against European supremacy shows no sign of losing its momentum.

The leaders of the Algerian nationalist movement are not prepared to compromise on the question of independence. The rebel forces can carry on their guerilla warfare indefinitely throughout Algeria, although they are unable to defeat the French army. They probably think that time is on their side and that the war effort will lead France to ever-increasing economic difficulties and that the pressure of world opinion will oblige her to negotiate.

The continuation of the war is a great threat to democracy and civil rights both in France and Algeria. Border incidents may lead to an extension of the conflict to the neighbouring countries of North Africa.

To avert such dangers of which they are fully aware a group of high-ranking French civil servants in Algeria has issued

For real negotiations

"LET us ask the British people to insist that negotiations take place between Britain and Russia without, on our side, any strings, and without insisting upon assurances on the other side. Let us try to persuade the British people to refuse any missile bases in Great Britain and to insist that no aeroplanes stationed here be equipped to carry nuclear weapons."

This challenging call from Canon L. John Collins, made in a sermon in St. Paul's Cathedral on Sunday, followed closely on



Algerian soldiers seizing French arms after an engagement.

Algerian Special Supplement inside

a report advocating a suspension of hostilities and the recognition of the right of Algeria to her independence.

During the transitory period the country would be administered by a provisional government consisting of representatives from Algerians of European and non-European origin and of representatives from the French government.

Many professors and research workers from the University of Paris held a meeting on January 12 to discuss the Algerian problem. They voted nearly unanimously a resolution prepared by M. Berque, Professor of Social History of Islam at the "College de France." It recommends the recognition of the Algerian nation and of her right to independence.

The Communists are the only main party to favour unanimously immediate Algerian independence, but large sections of the Socialist and Radical parties and even the most enlightened elements of the Right are not far from coming to the same conclusion.

A recent congress of Socialist youth in Paris has shown that an overwhelming majority of its members are for a negotiated solution of the Algerian problem.

According to M Lacoste the war is now over, the rebellion has been crushed, and the new framework law can be applied at once. The next few months will prove whether his statements are true or not.

Meanwhile no change of any magnitude is likely to take place. If his plans crumble like castles in the air, if the frame-

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A.I.D. but not P.B.W.

Alec Lea, of the Exeter Peace Group, had the following letter on artificial insemination published in the News Chronicle last week:

IF the Archbishop of Canterbury could make a public denunciation of A.I.D. he could also have made a public denunciation of push-button warfare. Perhaps one of these days he will.

However evil A.I.D. may be, its result is to create children rather than destroy them.

One of the inescapable results of push-button warfare is the mutilation and killing of children by the million, and this is still waiting to be proclaimed a sin by the leaders of the Christian Church.

Briefly

A Brighton Councillor, Mr. Lewis Cohen, and a local clergyman, the Rev. John Rowland, will be among the speakers at an open forum on "Peace or War in the Nuclear Age" at the Friends Centre, Ship Street, Brighton, on Saturday at 7 p.m. Minnie Pallister, the well-known broadcaster, and Stuart Morris and Sybil Morrison of Peace Pledge Union headquarters, will also take part.

★ ★ ★

The National League of Young Liberals have called for Britain to take a lead in banning H-bomb tests.

a remarkable speech by Dr. Donald Soper made in the Midlands on the previous Thursday in which he declared that the British people "probably had not the freedom to get the Americans to go home," but had the power which "will put an end to this miserable and fatal process of experimentation with H-bomb weapons."

The missile bases, Canon Collins warned, increased our own fears and created further distrust in Russia. The idea that we should submit the Russian people—whatever Russia might do to us—to such inhuman horrors as the bases might make possible, was the antithesis of the Christian way of life.

When everyone has an open razor

An audience of almost 500 crowded Mansfield's (Notts) largest hall on Jan. 16 to hear Dr. Donald Soper warn of "our new and unprecedented danger" and "the parlous lack of any coherent policy of peace-making," reports Trevor Wadsworth.

Urging an immediate and unilateral renunciation of H-bomb tests by Britain, Dr. Soper was paying his first visit to the town where George Fox, founder of Quakerism, had his momentous "vision." He said the logic of the case for countries possessing nuclear weapons was that the world would only be safe "when everybody has an open razor in his hand."

★ ON BACK PAGE

In Peace News next week:

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

MICHAEL SCOTT

MARTIN LUTHER KING

Leader of the Montgomery Negroes.

SENATOR COOPER

Former U.S. Ambassador to India.

MURIEL LESTER

Leading British Christian pacifist.

NORMAN COUSINS

Editor, Saturday Review.

CLARENCE PICKETT

Director-Emeritus of American Friends Service Committee.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

America's leading Negro trade unionist

and others, write on:

A DECADE WITHOUT GANDHI

These articles are published on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi's death by arrangement with the Hindustan Times in which they will be appearing on the previous day. As there will be a heavy demand for this special issue, which will also include the first instalment of "The Kirkenes Journey," readers are advised to order extra copies now.

Arms and world poverty

UNDERFED COLONIAL PEOPLE ARE BEING SACRIFICED FOR OUR "DEFENCE"

By Dr. Francis Rona

ONE of the most shameful features of the arms race is its reaction on the poverty-stricken areas of the world.

Despite the general admission that the development of rocket missiles has made "defence" completely illusory, the 15 NATO countries have spent \$59,586,000,000 (£21,094,000,000) for military purposes in the last 12 months.

This vast investment in destruction deprives not only the arming countries of great improvements in their own living conditions but, what is more degrading, also withholds from the undeveloped countries the substantial economic assistance which earlier promises by the Western Powers had led them to expect.

Widening gap between income-levels

The main features of economic backwardness in the poverty areas are: under-nourishment, infectious and endemic diseases, primitive agricultural economy and retarded capital development due to lack of equipment and educational opportunities.

In view of the steady rise of income-levels in the industrial West, and the constant repetition of pious intentions by Western statesmen, many people will still be shocked to learn, on the admission of official reports, that the situation is in some respects actually deteriorating.

THE World Economic Report of the UN (issue 1953, IIC.) drew attention to income discrepancies:

"... While world income has grown rapidly, it is now more unequally distributed than prior to World War II. The last years have done little to alter this general picture of a widening gap between poor and rich countries."

Unsatisfactory social welfare and development in Colonies were criticised and underlined in the "Special Study on Social Conditions in Non-Self-Governing Territories (UN 1953, VI.B.2):

"Malnutrition is the shadow behind the whole health problem in (British) East and Central Africa... In French West Africa there are nutritional deficiencies not only of quantity but of quality, which affect 40 per cent of the population..."

A pound for us: 6d. for them

The Transport House pamphlet, "Labour's Colonial Policy" (1957), exposes damning facts of budgetary expenditure for Health and Education in British Colonies:

Annual average for Health per head, 6s. 2d. (in Britain, £12 3s. 6d.) Average for Education, 8s. (in Britain, £12 5s. 0d.)

In 1954 the gross capital formation in all our Colonies was about £400,000,000 (i.e., less than £6 per head for 70,000,000 people).

Sixty-five million pounds were private investments from outside, £135,000,000 came from within, the rest from public agencies.

Competition of the USSR

VERY few Western politicians seem to have recognised that the development of backward areas will have decisive influence in the competition between the capitalist and the Soviet economic systems.

While USA, Britain and France continue to waste one-eighth of their national product for military purposes, capital exports from USSR to those areas have already reached considerable proportions and funds for a major "trade drive" in those areas have been set aside by the Moscow Credit Corporation.

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The USSR offer of "unconditional economic aid" to 38 undeveloped countries at the Afro-Asian Conference in Cairo, reported in the Press last month, is worth repeating in this connection. The Soviet delegate, Mr. A. Arzumaniam, said:

"Just tell us what you need and we will help you—as brother helps brother. We are ready to build factories or assembly plants. We can build you hospitals, schools or roads. We can send you out professors to aid your education or you can send your students to us."

"We do not seek any advantage and we want no profits, privileges, controlling interests or concessions. Our aid is given without any conditions at all."

Did you know this?

In estimating the effect of this promise on the Afro-Asian countries, we should remember, for comparison, that America's generous Marshall Plan has now been taken over by the "Mutual Security Agency" and this converted into an instrument of militarism.

Yet its original purpose was emphatically non-military. As G. C. Marshall himself said, June 5, 1947: "Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger and poverty."

Will they turn to Russia?

It is abundantly clear from these facts that the Western Powers have betrayed what 10 years ago their spokesmen professed to regard as a sacred trust.

They have broken their word to millions of underfed and disease-infested people and sacrificed the undeveloped areas to their pathological obsession with military strength.

Unless this policy is speedily reversed, the nemesis is inevitable: the backward peoples will turn to the Communist Powers as their benefactors. And if the loss of moral influence does not disturb the Western rulers, the ultimate loss of potential markets will.

Only solution: International co-operation

Obviously, the only solution lies in the establishment of a World Development Authority as an agency of UN.

The successful functioning of the International Atomic Energy in Vienna is an example of what can be achieved in the dispensing of economic development by a common platform.

But in view of the present attitude of the US and British Governments we must look to the Labour movement for any hope of progress in this direction.

THE British Labour Party has already presented a strongly contrasting alternative policy. It was indicated by Mr. Gaitskell's suggestion of the transfer of one per cent of the national income for international aid to "misery areas".

Labour Party's heavy responsibility

Its basic principles were indicated by a statement issued by over 30 Labour MPs in 1954, two points of which are particularly relevant:

"We are convinced that the leaders of the Kremlin are right in believing that if the present direction is broadly sustained for another two decades, all will indeed fall into their hands through the disintegration of what we now call the free world."

"We spend £1,650,000,000 a year to meet the risk of all-out military aggression. To meet the certainty of economic, social and moral disintegration in 'our' world we are expending on balance almost nothing."

PACIFISTS AND UNARMED DEFENCE

By Ralph Templin

Ralph T. Templin is professor of sociology at Central State College, Wilberforce, Ohio, USA, former educational missionary in India from 1925 to 1940, and co-founder of Kristagraha (non-violent Christianity in India.) He was sufficiently associated with Gandhi's campaign to be expelled by the British from India.

SOME pacifists seem to believe that because unarmed defence of a country may be a matter of "political expediency" or "not designed to serve our purposes" or not "personal in character" primarily, we would be better advised to stick to our pacifist ways.

Just what these ways may be seems vague. Such expressions of them as personal, non-political and redemptive love are used, though it does not seem clear how there is to be any external extension of what is experienced within the life. Such dichotomous concepts of religion ought to be very familiar to all who partake of Western culture.

Such critics are probably correct in assuming that they represent a considerable section of Western pacifist opinion. My concern is not that we do not agree. This is important. We should be careful not to divide our meagre forces on superficial levels.

Ahimsa measures the spirit to reform

Do we make our pacifism brighter by restraining it in its wider extension? On the contrary, the deepest inner pacifism may gain in reality through its "converting" power (a term used very carefully by Gandhi to express the heart of his idea) that is, its re-formation of its revolution both inner and outer.

Do we stick to pacifist ways less because we apply some of them in wider circles? Do we become less non-violent because we become non-violent also in our citizenship?

Was Gandhi less non-violent because he developed a non-violent political party and movement? Gandhi closed his autobiographical analysis of the earliest of these experiences by adding the searching words:

"To see the universal and all-pervading Spirit of Truth face to face one must be able to love the meanest of creation as oneself. And a man who aspires after that cannot afford to keep out of any field of life. That is why my devotion to Truth has drawn me into the field of politics; and I can say without the slightest hesitation, and yet in all humility, that those who say that religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what religion means."

To me this is the best measure I have found of the depth of Gandhi's ahimsa (identification in love with the needs, aspirations, sufferings, etc., of all men). I believe it rebukes as much a purely personal pacifism, or anarchism, as it does any other kind of purely personal religion.

I do not see how we can be indifferent to or apart from a non-pacifist world's swing away from armed forces for defence, security, etc., though the motivation may be quite different from ours. I do not see how we can even pacifistically withhold ourselves from such a movement.

Towards adequate moral defence

Cecil Hinshaw, American pacifist and former President of William Penn College, has been working on the problem of unarmed defence for several years. Cecil Hinshaw is one of America's most devoted Quakers. All pacifists should now read his pamphlet, "An Adequate and Moral Programme of National Defence," especially the sections "The Logic of Non-Violent Resistance" and "A Plan for Non-Violent National Defence."

This plan and the King-Hall idea go beyond neutralism in proposing that non-violence be seriously considered as a more adequate defence while millions still believe defence to be needed.

Is this no concern of ours because we believe that for us, as a small circle, defence is no longer needed? Can we make the pacifist song, "Let the Rest of the World Go By"? Where, then, is our ahimsa?

Consciously or unconsciously Sir Stephen

King-Hall proposes far more than the mere study with greater realism of one nation's defence problem. It is that. (Most Western Nations are in a blind alley of defence insecurity, largely of the United States' creation. He proposes Britain get out of it.)

Most significantly he proposes that Britain take the moral and practical leadership of half of the world's population, already prepared for such leadership and tired of all the blocs and their obsession with nuclear devastation; and, with that leadership, discover the Archimedes lever and the place to stand with which to move a world mad and besotted with its fears and hates and greatly needing to be moved. If England wants to lead the world, here is a way cut out and clear.

To find the pacifist's place in such movements is the pacifist's personal problem.



Algerian refugee children suffering from skin diseases, in Bouckr, Morocco, November 1957.

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Sir Hartley Shawcross may fight Electoral Bill

From BASIL DELAINE

Bulawayo, S. Rhodesia

SIR HARTLEY SHAWCROSS, former Labour Attorney-General, and one of the world's finest legal brains, might be briefed by certain members of the African Affairs Board of the Federal Assembly—if it is decided to challenge the validity of the Electoral Bill in the Supreme Court. And British Socialists might assist in financing the action.

This was stated by the political correspondent of the Chronicle, Bulawayo, in a recent report.

Sir John Moffat, Chairman of the Board, announced last month, when opposing the Bill, that he, the Rev. Doig (a European MP of Nyasaland), Mr. Yamba (an African MP of Northern Rhodesia), and Mr. Chirwa (an African MP of Nyasaland) were taking legal advice on whether the Federal Government had the constitutional power to legislate for the election of Africans in the three territories of the Federation.

SUPPORT FOR STAND

They contended that such elections were still under territorial jurisdiction, says the report in the Chronicle.

The correspondent points out that any legal action taken by opponents of the Bill would be as individuals, not by the African Affairs Board.

The report states that the correspondent understands that the stand of the four men—who represent African interests in Parliament—received considerable support in the Federation.

Assistance (to meet the cost of the legal action) might come from the African Congresses and from socialists in Britain," concludes the report.

Russell, Huddleston and others plead STOP THIS EXECUTION—TRY THIS GIRL AGAIN

AN appeal has gone from Britain for a stay of execution and an inquiry into the conduct of the trial of Djamil Bouhired, condemned to death by the Permanent Military Tribunal in Algiers on July 15, 1957, for complicity in terrorist acts.

The appeal has been made to the President of France by the Union of Democratic Control in a letter signed by Bertrand Russell, the Rt. Rev. George F. Macleod, Trevor Huddleston, Christopher Fry, Ritchie Calder, Canon L. John Collins, Gerald Gardiner and others.

Standards of justice

The letter points out that:

"It appears that the case was heard with extreme haste. The witnesses do not impress us as reliable, the most important among them being close to insanity. Djamil Bouhired repudiated the confession attributed to her. There was no inquiry before sentence was pronounced into allegations that she had been tortured after her arrest. The lawyer entrusted with her defence was not allowed to deliver his plea. These features of the case justify a suspicion that the standards of justice accepted in France and all civilised countries have been violated.

"We make no claim to pass our own judgment on Djamil Bouhired's guilt or innocence, but we feel strongly that this has not yet been decided by a fair and proper trial. We therefore request your Excellency to institute an inquiry into the conduct of the trial, and meanwhile to grant a reprieve to Djamil Bouhired, who has for six months been awaiting execution."

Other signatories to the letter include: Dr. J. Bronowski, John Osborne, Arthur Koestler, A. J. P. Taylor, the Rt. Hon. Viscount

Stansgate and Professor Rotblat, Lindsay Anderson, A. J. Ayer, Michael Ayrton, the Bishop of Birmingham, Barbara Castle, M.P., Michael Foot, Augustus John, Doris Lessing, Benn W. Levy, Humphrey Lyttelton, Hugh McDermid, Archibald Marshall Q.C., Kingsley Martin, the Rev. Nathaniel Micklem, B. M. Nicholson, Sir Herbert Read, and Jeremy Thorpe.

Readers wishing to support this appeal should write to Audrey Jupp, Secretary, Union of Democratic Control, 88 Rochester Row, London, S.W.1.

March to stop tests

WOOD Green, Southgate and District Committee for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests are planning a poster parade on Saturday afternoon, Jan. 25. Part of the object of the march is to advertise the mass meeting at the Central Hall, Westminster, on Feb. 17. It has been suggested that coach parties should be organised locally.

In the meantime, it is also hoped to arrange a display of the film, "Shadow of Hiroshima" in a Wood Green school on the evening of Feb. 11, with a speaker from the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests.

This activity locally follows the public meeting held on Nov. 26 at Trinity Grammar School, Wood Green, when the Mayor presided. Names and addresses were taken at this meeting and an enthusiastic response resulted from a subsequent circular to those who had given these particulars, at which the further programme was endorsed.

Briefly

British scientists quoted by the Daily Herald said last week that they "do not accept that there is no danger of radio-active poisons escaping after a crash—and particularly when an aircraft catches fire." The statement was made after the US Government had alleged that an American plane carrying an atom bomb had crashed without the bomb exploding.

An electronics technician died a few days after he stood in the path of a radar beam for less than a minute. He experienced no warning sensation during the first few seconds but later felt a "sensation of heat." This is believed to be the first recorded instance of any fatality arising from the use of radar beams. A medical authority advised that microwave radiations should be treated with the same respect as atomic radiations, says "Safety Information" (USA).

Roger Rawlinson, a Central Electricity Generating Board photographer, describes his stay at the German training centre for peace workers, "Friendship House," Buckeburg, in an illustrated article in "Southern Beam," the Board's magazine. "I believe that training for constructive tasks for peace should become more widespread and supersede eventually the present almost universal emphasis on war preparations," he writes.

Rex Whittaker, former member of Dick Sheppard House staff and well-known South London pacifist, who served several terms of imprisonment in World War II, died in St. Thomas' Hospital on Jan. 1, at the age of 39.

Christopher Fry's play "The Dark is Light Enough" will be televised by the BBC on Jan. 26.

Bertrand Russell will propose a new theory which he thinks resolves some traditional perplexities about knowledge of the world when he gives a BBC Third Programme talk on Feb. 2.

Bertrand Russell, J. B. Priestley, A. J. P. Taylor, Michael Foot and Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall will speak at a meeting organised by the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Tests to be held at the Central Hall, Westminster, on Monday, February 17, at 7.30 p.m.

FINAL EFFORT



READERS all over the world are taking up the challenge of our 1957 publishing deficit: originally £3,500, it stood at £734 a fortnight ago and is now down to a little over

£406

We have received £327 in the past fortnight. So many of you have given so generously over the past year to keep our independent paper alive (there is no big-business-man or vast advertising revenue behind Peace News—just a loyal readership) that I find it hard to appeal for the final effort to clear off that £406 by the time we close our books on Jan. 31.

But I would like to say, when I write this column in a fortnight's time: "We've done it!"

THE EDITOR.

Contributions since Jan. 3: £327 9s. 4d.

Total since Jan., 1957: £3,093 10s. 8d.

Anonymous donations gratefully received: Twickenham, 5s.; CHH, £1 10s.; Ipswich, 5s.; OAP, Essex, £2; Anon., £4 10s.

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Nuclear weapons protest: US farmer refuses tax information

A SPRINGVILLE, Pennsylvania, USA, farmer and former Methodist pastor, Richard Fichter, appeared in court on Dec. 12 for refusing to complete an income tax form giving particulars of his income as a "protest against the war economy and nuclear weapons."

On Nov. 17 in New York Mr. Fichter had walked unscheduled before the TV cameras of the \$64,000 Challenge programme to "challenge the American people in the world's most critical hour with the way of love and peace." He was led off by a stage-hand soon after he had begun to speak and was later sent for observation to Bellevue Hospital, a mental institution, from which he was released on Nov. 29. In court Mr. Fichter passed a statement to the Internal Revenue District Repre-

sentative giving the reasons for his protest and saying that men should devote their lives to the love of God rather than the destruction of their kind.

The statement continues:—

"Modern man constantly thinks it permissible to refrain from supporting God but would never think of refraining from paying taxes or supporting the State. Only when man begins to support and fear God as he does the State will man begin to progress toward peace and happiness."

As Mr. Fichter is the father of three children, Revenue officials doubt whether he would be required to pay any taxes.

Mr. Fichter's case was turned over to the Intelligence Division of the Internal Revenue Service.

FIGHTING POVERTY IN SOUTH AMERICA

LIVING in the High Andes of Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru are some six million Indians who, because of the conditions, are barely able to provide themselves with the basic necessities of life. The governments of these three countries are working together to improve the health, nutrition, housing, education and working conditions of these people in the high plateau and to integrate them more closely into the economic and social life of their countries. The United Nations and some of the Specialised Agencies, under the overall responsibility of the International Labour Organisation, are helping in this programme.



Diplomatic brush

THE framework of law for Algeria, carefully watered down to meet all sections of French opinion, but without any kind of consultation of the Arabs and Berbers of Algeria, has now passed the Senate.

It now goes back to the Assembly.

It is likely to be ready for presentation to the Algerians, therefore as soon as the "pacification" based on the killing of scores of thousands of Arabs and Berbers is complete.

M. Lacoste has repeatedly spoken of this as being imminent.

The recent happenings in Tunisia are a pointer to certain aspects of the situation that will obtain then. M. Bourguiba and the Sultan of Morocco have both offered their good offices in an attempt to bring about a settlement. Should the attempt to impose a constitution on Algeria follow "pacification", however, it seems improbable that their aid will be sought. It would be a mistake to hold that they will then count for nothing in the situation. Both the people of Morocco and the people of Tunisia have made it very clear that their sympathies lie with their fellow-Muslims in their struggle. Indeed, in view of their own histories there would be something shameful about their attitudes if this were not so.

The sequel to a recent border incident in which 15 French soldiers were killed and four taken prisoner has led to an indication of something of the atmosphere in North Africa in which the imposition of the framework law will be carried out. The French allege that these prisoners were held on Tunisian soil. The French Government sent two emissaries to require the release of the prisoners. M. Bourguiba refused to receive them. He received the French Ambassador. He was prepared to receive the civilian emissary. He was not prepared to receive the other, a general in uniform, General Buchalet. This he held to be too reminiscent of the past French attitude in Tunisia and he refused to encourage this.

The French Government has therefore withdrawn its Ambassador. M. Bourguiba (who incidentally denies that the prisoners have been held in Tunisia) has made a renewed declaration of his desire for friendship with the French. Doubtless the Ambassador will be sent back again after a bit. The whole incident, however, is an indication that the troubled years that loom ahead in North Africa, the attitude of the Tunisians, and the Moroccans, will count for something as well as that of Algerians.

Frenchmen's lives

SINCE the above was written it has become evident that the young French P.O.W.s were never in Tunisia.

It is quite possible that the Tunisian aspect was brought into it to extenuate, in a military sense, the defeat that was inflicted on the French.

Representatives in Algeria of the Tunisian journal l'Action, have supplied the names and addresses of the four men concerned, messages to their families, and a photo of them under guard.

On the other hand, M. Claude Bourdet has written a closely reasoned plea for the establishment of prisoner-of-war camps in Tunisia as a means of safeguarding the lives of young Frenchmen in the conditions of Algerian fighting.

The Government should be more concerned for the lives of young Frenchmen than for military dignity, he urges.

Challenge in Okinawa

THE capital of Okinawa, the island occupied by US troops as a base in readiness for war with China, is Naha. Last November, the Mayor, Kajjiro Senaga, described by Americans as a "crypto-Communist" (which may either be true or may merely mean that he is intensely opposed to the US occupation) was voted out of office after the US Deputy Military Governor had imposed a constitutional change which made this possible.

Last week a new Mayor was elected. The two contestants were Saichi Kaneshi, who had the support of the displaced Mayor, and Tatsuo Tiara, a Socialist. The occupying authorities, in default of a candidate they disliked less, gave support to the Socialist.

Both candidates, however, were vigorously opposed to the land purchase terms that the occupying authorities had imposed, and which have previously been described in



Peace News. Both also desired the return of Okinawa to Japan, Mr. Tiara asking for the setting of a time-limit to the US occupation. A big part in Mr. Senaga's campaign was opposition to the use of Okinawa as a nuclear missile base.

Whatever the result of the poll, therefore, there could be no possibility of the US authorities interpreting it as an indication that their continued presence was desired. In fact, out of some 100,000 voters nearly 69,000 cast their votes, Mr. Kaneshi being elected by a majority of about a thousand.

The US authorities are therefore faced with the problem whether, in what has been described as "the showcase of democracy in the Far East," there shall be another dictated constitutional adjustment

in order to get rid of Mr. Kaneshi.

Editor and author

HEIN VAN WIJK, author of the two articles in our Algerian supplement is a Dutch lawyer with offices in Haarlem.

He is editor of the Dutch pacifist journal, Vredesactie, in which his articles first appeared.

Arrested for helping Jews escape during the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands, he spent three years in German concentration camps, including Dachau.

He handles the court cases for a large number of Dutch conscientious objectors.

Peace News is grateful to Hilda von Klenze of the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters staff in London for the translation from the Dutch.

Editorial and Publishing office.

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FRANCE AND ALGERIA

WERE it not for the fact that it is overshadowed by the threat of a nuclear world war, the appalling war in Algeria that is carried on year after year would occupy a central place in our thoughts and would figure much more largely in the headlines of our newspapers.

For the war between the French and the Algerian peoples is as deadly a business as the world has known apart from the wholesale destruction of "obliteration bombing" and the holocausts that were perpetrated at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The Algerian war is not only very costly of life—of the life of French youth and much more, of course, of Algerians—and of resources; it has been accompanied by activities of such obscene and inhuman blackguardism, so destructive of the human values once thought to be outstandingly represented in the spirit of the French, that one may be sometimes tempted to assume that the great French people have declined into a nation of moral degenerates.

In an issue of Peace News then, containing a supplement largely devoted to events in Algeria, it is necessary to say that much of what appears in these pages represents only one part of the picture. While we believe that much of the behaviour of the French in Algeria has been a great deal more atrocious than that of the British in Kenya in dealing with the Mau Mau rebellion (and a great deal that was bad was done there) or than the British action against the Cypriot rebels, there has been a great deal more evidence that many French people are troubled in their consciences about what their Government is doing than has obtained among the British people.

★ ★

WE want, therefore, to pay tribute to the many courageous Frenchmen of all political outlooks who have sought to give expression to the deeply felt moral horror of many of their countrymen at what is done in their name.

We cannot mention all their names for there have been an enormous number of suppressions by the French Government of public exposures about Algeria. We pay tribute to M. Servan-Schreiber of L'Express, to M. Claude Bourdet of France-Observateur, and to M. Jean-Paul Sartre of Les Temps Modernes, whose publications, like that of our own colleagues of Routes de Paix, are among those that have incurred the honourable distinction of being suppressed.

Then there are soldiers such as General Bollardiere, Colonel Barberot and Captain Fournier, lawyers such as M. Jacques Vergès, and writers such as M. Pierre-Henri Simon, Raymond Aron and Georges Arnaud.

To these and to many others we express our appreciation and gratitude. They bring us the assurance that the French spirit that we can love and admire is still there.

If their work for the salvation of France is to be successful, what they are saying must also find its expression by the peoples of other nations.

★ ★

PEACE NEWS has always deplored the resort to terrorism by the Algerians. We believe that they have a duty as men to resist the imposition of alien rule, but we believe also that there are other and more effective methods by which this can be done.

What makes the official attitude of the French so despicable, however, is that what the Algerians are doing in their struggle for independence has precisely the same character as the "resistance" of the French during the German occupation.

On the other hand, the methods of torture that have been resorted to, particularly by the French paratroops—and the general charges must now unfortunately be regarded as authenticated—make it clear that the German Nazis would today have little to teach the French; and the ends sought by means of torture in some cases suggest a similar inhuman lack of scruple to that of the Stalin regime.

The Gaillard Government offers no more hope of a decent settlement—let alone one based on the French declaration of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity—than did its predecessor, the Mollet Government. The only hope for Algeria—and France—is a great outcry of condemnation from world opinion.

That other £50,000,000

PAYMENT of the costs of British troops in Germany has been a bone of contention between the two Governments since they ceased to be occupation troops whose expenses were claimed as part of the costs of controlling Germany after the war.

The British argued that they were helping to protect Western Germany and that therefore the Bonn Government should contribute towards the cost, but the West Germans were able to reply that the British troops were there as part of a Western defence system (to which West Germany was also making its contribution), more designed to protect Britain than Germany.

A compromise was reached on previous occasions, which reduced the German contribution to £50,000,000 per year, but the Bonn Government is no longer prepared to continue that arrangement.

The British Government is claiming that they have the support of the other NATO powers, but the Bonn Government denies that the NATO Council has made any recommendations, or that they are under any obligation to continue to pay for British troops in West Germany. The British Government appears to be in the dilemma of not wanting a further withdrawal of British troops from Germany and having to seek ways of cutting the Service estimates. The Chancellor of the Exchequer resigned when another £50,000,000 was at issue, claiming that his resignation was not based on a mathematical calculation but on a principle.

In both cases, if principles are to be evoked, it would appear that the best solution of the dilemma would be for the British Government to cut its service estimates by withdrawing troops from Germany as part of a policy of total disarmament.

Russian aid

THE Russian Government made the occasion for an announcement of willingness to come to the aid of the underdeveloped countries without political conditions. The US State Department has recently issued a report giving a detailed account of the aid that has been forthcoming for such purposes from the Communist bloc, including China.

Between July, 1954, and the end of 1957 the amount has totalled \$1,900,000,000 (something over £600,000,000). The countries that have principally benefited from this have been Egypt, Yugoslavia, Syria, India (nearly £100,000,000), Afghanistan and Indonesia.

In some cases the assistance has been given. In others it has been lent on particularly favourable terms: 2½ per cent over a period of twelve years or more.

The report makes the gratuitous, and in fact rather childish, comment that the Soviets are certainly not animated by any altruistic intention to aid the economic progress of these countries, and that the assistance given is expected to result in an evolution in the assisted countries which will be favourable to Soviet interests.

That economic activities of this kind in the world today are not undertaken out of pure good-heartedness, nobody needs to be told. The US State Department, however, cannot be unconscious that the quid pro quo sought by the US in its foreign aid has been a good deal more obvious than it has been in regard to what Russia and China have done in this field.

Something in this

WRITING in "Soviet Aviation", a Russian scientist, K. A. Gilzin, discusses the possibility of a "photon" space ship which, travelling nearly as fast as light (186,000 m.p.h.), could travel in outer space for half a life-time and then return to find that thousands of years had passed.

His conception is based on Einstein's assertion that as man travels at a speed approaching that of light, he slows down or deaccelerates, in relation to time on earth.

The value of this method of transport depends upon who uses it. Suppose, for example, the heads of the Powers could be persuaded to hold their Summit Talks in outer space. By Mr. Gilzin's reckoning, if they went away for a fortnight, they wouldn't be back for several years.

The main obstacles to peace being so long removed, the nations would have a chance to learn how to co-exist.

Arab-Israel talks

ANY group which sincerely seeks a solution to Arab-Israel differences is contributing to the peace of the Middle East and should be encouraged. This is the reason for the great interest which has been evinced in the suggestion by Mr. Fenner Brockway and Dr. Leon Szur that direct peace talks between Jewish and Arab Socialists be held.

For the same reason the proposals by "Third Force" (P.N., Jan. 3) should receive careful consideration. But in doing so one must be realistic. In view of the situation that exists it is not very practical, for example, to insist on the repatriation of the Arab refugees.

After ten years of indoctrination, the refugees are not likely to be easily assimilated into the life of Israel. The country has changed enormously in the past decade and the introduction of the Arab refugees might easily create more problems than it would solve.

The solution to the refugee problem lies in their integration into the Arab States where they now live and of which they are a part linguistically and culturally. Israel should certainly pay compensation for property left behind.

A Socialist Federation for the Middle East is a very laudible ideal towards which to strive, but is it practical at the moment? The Middle East is an area in which feudal monarchs and military dictators hold sway. Their hatred for Israel is well known. Should Israel, under the circumstances, be asked to give up her sovereignty in return for mythical guarantees which stand little chance of being honoured?

Perhaps, after all, it would be better if the proposed talks between Arab and Israeli Socialists are held without prior conditions. If the desire for peace is present on both sides a way out of the present impasse will be found.—H. PINNER, 4, Kennysland Ct., Hendon Way, London, N.W.4.

Religious freedom in Russia

IN the November issue of the *Doukhobor Inquirer*, it is reported that the Red Cross and Red Crescent societies of Russia have announced that Peter Verigin III, the spiritual leader of the Doukhobors (who have been searching for him in vain since 1939) has "died in confinement in Russia."

This is up-to-date proof that Christianity lived (as distinct from being talked about in churches) in the USSR is no more permitted in modern Russia than it was in the days of the Tzar.

Peter Verigin I was undergoing 15 years' exile in Siberia under the Tzarist régime for his Christian-pacifist views when Tolstoy wrote to him, in 1896:

Meeting at Friends' House, 43 Charles Street, Cardiff.
FRIDAY, January 24, at 7.30 p.m.
Speaker: FRANK DAWTRY. Subject: "Crime and the Community."

ORDEAL

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Condemned to death by a French Court.
Including the Speech for the Defence which was not permitted to be heard in court.

By Mervyn Jones Price 6d.
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CHRISTIAN PACIFISM and CONSCRIPTION

A CONFERENCE for boys between the ages of 16 and 19 will be held at RECKITT HOUSE, LEIGHTON PARK SCHOOL, READING from Saturday, March 29—Monday, March 31, 1958

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Letters to the Editor

"The meaning of human life lies solely in the welfare of all men . . . To infringe the life and welfare of any man for the welfare of mankind in general, is the same as if for an animal's welfare, we were to cut off one of his limbs."

These two individuals, Tolstoy and Verigin, possessed the reverence for life so urgently advocated by equally far-seeing Dr. Schweitzer today. But no totalitarian State can tolerate the doctrine of the importance of the individual which these men and the Founder of their Faith all explicitly taught.

So Peter Verigin III has had to die in captivity in "democratic" Russia for teaching things that pacifists in "capitalistic" Canada and Britain are still free to say and write. Leftists, please note.—ESME WYNNE-TYSON, 9 Park Lane, Selsey, Sussex.

Mental hospitals

THE reviewer of Warr's "Brother Lunatic" (PN, Dec. 6) very rightly advocated the pacifist attitude which is so urgently needed in mental hospitals and which, I am sorry to say, is sadly lacking. Great strides however, have been made to

improve the lot of the mental patient—especially in the material sense—but this is useless unless a different attitude is adopted by the staff of mental hospitals towards their patients and by the public towards mental illness.

In this respect much reform is necessary in the attitude to and treatment of mental patients. A great deal goes on in mental hospitals about which, if it were known, the public would protest strongly, but this is deliberately condoned by hospital authorities.

I could quote numerous instances of brutal treatment to patients!

As a qualified mental nurse and a pacifist I find mental nursing at times very trying and tedious and great patience is needed.

I believe pacifists are needed in mental hospitals more than anywhere else—DAVID SHARPE, "Four Gables", Forest Rd., Narborough, Leicestershire.

A prisoner's cards

MAY I, through your columns, thank the many people who sent me Christmas cards during my recent stay in Bristol prison?

They came from all over Europe, from

SIERRA LEONE, THE BAHAMAS, SOUTHERN RHODESIA

TROUBLE AVERTED, TROUBLE BREWING

By Fenner Brockway, MP

Chairman of the Movement for Colonial Freedom

MATTERS of much less historical importance, such as Mr. Thorneycroft's resignation as Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Prime Minister's journeys in the Commonwealth, have relegated to insignificance in the Press the news of Sierra Leone's emergence to internal self-government. Ghana independent, Nigeria independent in two years' time, Sierra Leone entering the last lap to independence—West Africa is making the pace!

Only Gambia—a river and its banks—remains among British colonies in that area. Gambia will eventually find its political freedom in a wider federation.

Mr. Lennox-Boyd, British Colonial Secretary, is being congratulated on conceding the constitutional changes in Sierra Leone. I congratulate the African delegation which came to London on demanding them and getting them. I met its leader, Dr. John Karefa-Smart, for the first time during the visit. He is a new figure in the African political scene. Unless I am mistaken, he will become a prominent figure.

Duchess gave help

I met Dr. Karefa-Smart three times. The occasion which lingers in my mind was when he chatted in a small committee room "off the cuff" and "off the record" to half-a-dozen MPs. He impressed and charmed us, impressed us by his ability, charmed us by his manner. The sooner we get rid of any idea of the superiority of British politicians to Africans the better.

The doctor only entered Sierra Leone politics a year ago. He entered late for an African politician: he is 42. He doesn't look older than a student—slim, almost boyish in his relaxed, responsive features. But he has had a wealth of experience. Studied medicine at McGill University in Canada during the war, trained undergraduates for tropical service in the Far East, went himself to the Bahamas, practised medicine in the United States and Brazil after the war, joined the staff of Ibadan University in Nigeria, met his American wife in Oslo, served with the World Health Organisation in Liberia and French Equatorial Africa. Elected to the Sierra Leone House of Representatives last year, he was appointed Minister of Mines. I have no knowledge whether Dr. Karefa-Smart is regarded as a progressive in domestic policies, but his crowded and varied experience and his ability make him a man to be reckoned with.

There was an incident in Dr. Karefa-Smart's service in the Bahamas which helps one to understand this week's crisis there. Dr. Karefa-Smart wanted to organise a public crusade for the treatment of leprosy.

The leaders of the tourist industry—the entertainment of Americans is the most profitable activity in the Bahamas—were alarmed. Publicity about leprosy would keep the dollar-spending visitors away: the medical plans must be hushed up. Dr. Karefa-Smart found an ally in the Duchess of Windsor, the wife of the Governor. A great educational campaign was launched and effective treatment extended to many victims who had been neglected.

Two years ago I met in London leaders of the Progressive Liberal Party of the Bahamas. The name of their organisation does not suggest radical views, but the Party was linked with the emerging trades unions and later on it applied for membership of the Conference of Commonwealth Labour Parties.

I learned with astonishment that trades unions were not permitted in any service associated with the tourists; they were not allowed in the hotels, in places of entertainment, in restaurants.

I am not sure whether this position has now been remedied. When Frank Allaun, MP, raised the matter in Parliament, the Minister promised reconsideration.

But it is significant that the general strike which has swept over the Bahamas began by a claim of taxi-drivers to carry tourists from the airport to the hotels and that the first workers to join them in the strike were hotel employees. The Governor, Sir Raynor Arthur, summoned troops to the island and 120 officers and men were flown in from Jamaica. The reports do not suggest that this show of force was necessary. There were no disturbances. The only reported demonstration was a gathering outside the Legislative Council which cheered the members of the Progressive Liberal Party as they entered.

Missionary: now Premier

The Bahamas are a British possession, but they are so distant from the other islands of the West Indies and so near to the coast of America that they have not been included in the new Caribbean Federation. These events show, however, that, as in the other West Indian islands, the pressure for political self-government is now accompanied by a strong movement among the working population for social and economic claims as well.

I turn from Dr. Karefa-Smart and the Bahamas to a very different figure in Central Africa. Mr. Garfield Todd has been deserted by his fellow European Ministers in the Cabinet of Southern Rhodesia. Mr. Todd went to Southern Rhodesia as a missionary and is a man of warm human sympathies. No one would regard him in a democratic country as a Liberal, but he is much too liberal for the European settler

South Africa, America, and Russia, as well as from this country, and their arrival provided a happy break from prison routine (although the prison officers were less delighted than I).

The cards showed me, too, how closely people can be brought together in a common purpose which, we pray, will yet bring peace on earth.—DENNIS PEPPER, 32 Leckford Road, Oxford.

Support for peace

SURELY most readers will agree with the general argument of Sybil Morrison in her letter (PN, Jan. 17), but not, I hope, with the conclusion that the slogan for today is "War, we say No!"

Of course, we must say "no"—for what that is worth, but our slogan, more than ever needs to be: "Peace, we say Yes!" Even millions refusing to fight will not prevent an H-bomb war.

We need to urge and support everything that makes for peace between the peoples. That, I should think was, incidentally, the only justification for Peace News giving so much space week by week to the anti-colonial articles of a non-pacifist member of a party which, as Sybil Morrison indicates, is facing in the wrong direction.—LEONARD TOMKINSON, 144 Muswell Hill Road, London, N.10.

community. It is likely that he may have to resign as Premier.

The intensity of feeling in Southern Rhodesia is illustrated by a meeting of 200 African members of the United Federal Party in which this split has occurred. In a resolution they said that if the spirit of the resigned Ministers were "to continue to be the guide in the policies of this land, Africans will be left with no alternative but to break faith completely with Europeans."

Southern Rhodesia occupies a unique place in the British Empire. It is not a Dominion, and yet it is outside the sphere of colonies which are subject to intervention by Britain. The one qualification of this is that the Governor and the Colonial Secretary can refuse endorsement to any discriminatory legislation, but in practice there has never been such interference with the white-dominated Legislature. Members of the British Parliament are not allowed to put Questions about the territory.

Southern Rhodesia is now a part of the Central African Federation. Even before this development a representative from Southern Rhodesia attended the meetings of Commonwealth Ministers from the Dominions. This right has now been extended to the Central African Federation, although it too is not recognised as a Dominion.

Warning signs

Racial discrimination and segregation are widely practised in Southern Rhodesia. Indeed, the fear of these practices is largely responsible for African opposition in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia to Federation. If the more reactionary Europeans in Southern Rhodesia overthrow a moderate like Mr. Garfield Todd, the fears of the African population of federation will grow still more intense. The passage of the new electoral Bill in the Federal Parliament, strengthening European domination, is another disastrous step towards racial conflict over the whole of the area.

Warning signs also come from Kenya in East Africa. Questions must be asked in Parliament about the suppression of the new African organisation which was born among those who were opposed to the violent methods of Mau Mau, but who nevertheless put forward uncompromising African demands. The breach between Africans and Europeans is indicated by the African boycott of the Legislative Council when the new Lennox-Boyd Constitution was endorsed last week.

East and Central Africa are the danger spots in the British colonial territories of the continent. The European settlers have not yet adjusted themselves to a recognition of democratic advance among the African peoples.

DACHAU, DRESDEN AND MODERN WAR

By Bradford Lyttle

In the previous instalments Bradford Lyttle described his journey to the town of Dachau and his visit to the concentration camp site. Setting out from there he hitch-hiked through Germany to Frankfurt, hearing from a car driver of the horror of the Allied air-raids on Dresden which in two successive nights killed 250,000 people.

I HAVE spent many hours of time since leaving Dachau, thinking about what I saw and heard. Here are some of the results of this thinking.

First, I have come to what I believe is a fuller understanding of the faith that was German National Socialism. The men who conceived the Dachau extermination factory did so from a profound philosophy, not simply as the result of a sadistic urge, for such careful and deliberate planning in actions, that to the majority of human beings are diabolical, requires a cohesive network of rationalisations to sustain.

For a few people in Germany Nazism was a religion on which they had wagered their souls in almost the deepest sense that this can be done.

That it was possible in the country to find individuals whose insensitivity and perversion would permit them to attend to the details of operating an extermination camp day after day, week in, week out, does not surprise me, for I have met in my own

country people who I think are capable of these acts.

But the decision to inaugurate and carry out the programme—this is the moral leap that required imagination and intelligence; it was made by men who risked everything that their philosophy, their "Weltanschauung" (ideology) was right.

This understanding of Nazism makes me believe the rearmament of Germany is a policy with horrible possibilities. Expressions of Nazi thought and feeling that I encountered in my conversations with Germans were numerous. When I couple the existence of these attitudes with the ruthlessness and fanaticism that were parts of Nazism, the combination, it seems to me, is capable of generating a political power of tremendous magnitude.

The Germans are impressed by the destruction of their cities; great numbers are deeply ashamed of many of the policies and actions carried out by the Nazi government and recognise their own guilt in supporting this government.

But I doubt, I doubt greatly, that their war-time experiences and this shame would stand against a revitalisation of German National Socialism, for in its ruthlessness Nazism has a means of generating a power which few individuals and social institutions can resist.

Finally, ghastly as Dachau is, I deem it less ghastly than the obliteration air raids of modern war. Both Dachau and Dresden were morally wrong, but I believe that Dresden was worse.

This opinion is in no sense to be interpreted as a judgment concerning the relative moral virtue of the men who conceived and carried out these acts of violence. It is merely the nature of the acts in themselves I am evaluating.

My feeling is that Dresden, Hiroshima and similar obliteration air-raids were more dreadful than the extermination camps because through the raids greater human suffering was caused, and, because in them the principle of overcoming evil by violence was perpetuated. This principle has led us to Churchill's "peace through mutual terror," and the threatening cataclysm of a thermo-nuclear war.

A GREAT PART of the horror inspired by Dachau is its "cold bloodedness." It represents an absolute and ultimate perversion of the virtues of analysis, calculation, planning, discipline and will.

But the horror which it inspires in us, the spectators, is not an index, I think, of the suffering of its victims. As a cause of suffering I believe a holocaust such as Dresden was more terrible. Consider the details of the two situations, however ghastly they may seem.

The Nazis did not burn their victims alive as far as we know, and probably they executed only a few in the conscious situations of a gallows or firing squad.

But a mass air-raid including the use of large numbers of high explosive and incendiary bombs subjects the population of a city against which it is aimed to the tortures of hell. All vestiges of humanity are removed.

No selection between men, soldiers and civilians, women and children can or is intended to take place.

The city is converted from homes and shelters into a trap of toppling masonry and a hurricane of fire that suffocate and burn to death all who are unfortunate enough to be unable to flee.

A quarter of a million human beings were so exterminated at Dresden. That is a great number for two nights' work.

I doubt if the gas chamber of Dachau could have liberated this many souls in six months' steady operation. And the principle of obliteration bombing—of converting entire cities into crematoria whose facilities do not include the mercies of gas chambers

Preparing for nuclear tests

THE issue has nothing to do with politics. It has little to do with causes and high-mindedness. Those who have had at least a partial vision of our destruction are like people who have leant out of the window of an express train and seen that a bridge is down a little further along the line.

They are urging the driver and their fellow passengers that the train should be stopped. But the others reply, many of them from behind their newspapers, that the train can't possibly be stopped because they have important engagements in the city.

As for the bridge, it may not be down after all, and even if it is the train will probably manage to jump across it somehow. Besides, it does no good to the reputation of our railways if express trains are to be halted in this way.

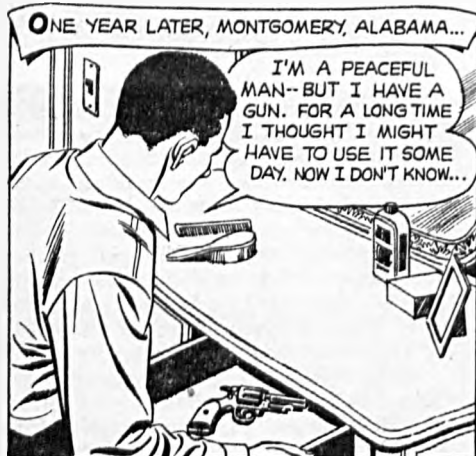
And, finally, we ought surely to be aware that there is another express train coming in the opposite direction which will certainly fall down into the river just as soon as we do.—PHILIP TOYNBEE, quoted in "New Statesman," January 4.

NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

Two MPs, Leslie Hale and Joyce Butler, will speak on Nuclear Disarmament and the Role of the Labour Movement at a conference in London on Saturday, Feb. 15. Open only to members of the Party and its affiliated organisations, the conference will begin at 2.30 p.m. in Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Rd., London S.W.1.

THE MONTGOMERY STORY

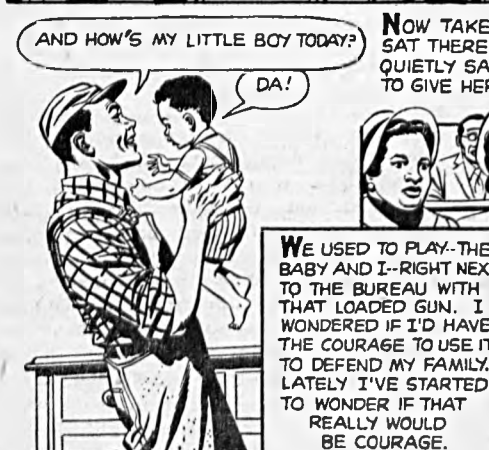
Last week the story opened by telling how Martin Luther King as a young Negro Baptist minister became parson of a church in the South US. 'Jim Crow' is an American expression for the colour-bar.



I LIVE IN MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA. I LOVE MONTGOMERY, BUT I'VE HATED IT, TOO. A NEGRO ANYWHERE IN THE DEEP SOUTH HAS A HARD TIME. JIM CROW SITS MIGHTY HEAVY ON A MAN'S SPIRIT.



PEOPLE LIVE SCARED UNDER JIM CROW. I WAS SCARED, TOO. YOU NEVER KNOW WHEN SOMETHING MIGHT BUST OUT, AND I HAVE A WIFE AND BABY.



WE USED TO PLAY--THE BABY AND I--RIGHT NEXT TO THE BUREAU WITH THAT LOADED GUN. I WONDERED IF I'D HAVE THE COURAGE TO USE IT TO DEFEND MY FAMILY. LATELY I'VE STARTED TO WONDER IF THAT REALLY WOULD BE COURAGE.

Prepared by the Al Capp Organisation for the US Fellowship of Reconciliation.

A military monstrosity

THE cost of an inter-continental rocket (without the war-head) is put at about £1 million, and the intermediate type which will be based in Britain and certain continental countries (if they will have them) is £1 to £1½ million apiece. To these figures must be added the cost of the launching sites. Such sites will occupy about 50 acres and be a labyrinth of underground control rooms, testing chambers, etc., etc., and the present estimates for the cost of a site to accommodate a battery of 15 missiles vary between £2 million and £4 million. Some idea of the fantastic situation into which we are drifting can be obtained by reflecting upon the evidence of General Power, Chief of the Strategic Air Command. He said that he was aiming at having one-third of his entire strike force on a fifteen-minute alert which was the maximum length of warning to be expected if Russia launched a missile attack. The intermediate missiles to be established in Britain will be at similar short notice.

But, although the highly trained technicians in the bowels of the launching sites (a nice safe job if you can get it) will be at a quarter of an hour's notice, what no one has ever attempted to explain is who will give the order Fire! All we know officially is that the British Government will have an absolute veto should America (the President) want to say Fire so far as British-based rockets are concerned. Your guess is as good as ours, but ours is that a rocket with a nuclear head on it or an H-bomb from a jet bomber will never be released—except by mistake—from Nato sources until it can be done as a retaliatory act after a Russian attack. If this be true—or the most reasonable probability—then obviously the Russian attack (if we are to suppose this to happen) will be directed against the missile bases. What grounds have we for supposing that if we set up four missile bases in Britain the Russians will not establish six or eight bases charged with the duty of smothering our four in the surprise attack? We regard this idea of fixed-position missile bases as a military monstrosity and we take you to witness that we believe they will be abandoned before they are completed! The place to put intermediate guided missiles—if you believe in this strategy—is in nuclear powered submarines which have got mobility. —King-Hall News-Letter, Jan. 1, 1958.

—has been a grisly companion for us, growing at last into the foundation of the foreign policy of the world's largest power blocs.

In my judgment "massive retaliation," with all that it implies, forebodes an evil many times greater than all the concentration camps of Nazi Germany combined. It is my opinion that if modern war is a "lesser evil," if there exist actions and conditions worse than modern war, these cannot be found in the extermination camps of Nazi Germany.

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DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon., a.m.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street), nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, January 24
BARNET: 7.45 p.m.; Ewen Hall, Wood Street. H-Bomb Protest Meeting. Speaker: Sidney B. Osborn, RSC (Principal Physicist, University College Hospital). Films. Questions. NCANWT.
CARDIFF: 7.30 p.m.; Friends' House, 43 Charles Street. Speaker: Frank Dawtry. "Crime and the Community."

LONDON LOCAL TRIBUNAL FOR COs: 10.30 a.m. and 1.15 p.m.; Fulham Town Hall (opposite Fulham Broadway Underground Station). Public admitted.

LONDON, E.C.2: 12.30 and 1.30 p.m.; Church of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate. Speaker: B. P. Pereira, Deputy High Commissioner for Ceylon, "Buddhism." National Peace Council.

Friday to Sunday, January 24 to 26
BEWLEY: 1958 Annual Conference of the Fellowship of Friends of Truth at Bewley, Worcs. "Non-Violence." Wilfred Wellock and Frances Jude. Apply, Vivian Worthington, 52 Copers, Cope Rd., Beckenham, Kent.

Saturday, January 25
BRIGHTON: 7 p.m.; Friends' Centre, Ship Street. Open Forum: "Peace or War in the Nuclear Age?" Speakers: Councillor Lewis Cohen, Rev. John Rowland, BSc, Stuart Morris, MA, Sybil Morrison. All welcome. PPU.

HUDDESFIELD: 6.30 p.m.; at 4 Richmond Avenue, Fartown. Group Annual General Meeting. 7 p.m.; Mr. K. M. Shoaib (Pakistan), Mr. V. S. Jain (India), will jointly introduce a general discussion. PPU Huddersfield Group.

Sunday, January 26
LONDON, W.C.1: 3.30 p.m.; 32 Tavistock Sq., London. Pacifist Universalist Service. Discourse by J. Allen Skinner.

Monday, January 27
LONDON, N.16: 8 p.m.; Devonshire Square Baptist Church, Stoke Newington High Street (corner Walford Road). Speaker: Rev. K. McKelvie and a Cancer Research worker. Chair: The Mayor. Film: Shadow of Hiroshima. Stoke Newington Council ANWT.

TROWBRIDGE: 7.30 p.m.; Co-op Hall, Castle Street. Film: "Children of Hiroshima." West Wills Peace Fellowship.

Tuesday, January 28
CROYDON: 8 p.m.; Adult School Hall, Park Lane. "H-Bomb Protest Meeting." Speakers: Harold Davies, MP, Ian Mikardo, MP, Mrs. Barbara Duncan-Harris, JP. Croydon Labour Party.

EAST SHEEN: 8 p.m.; Vernon Hall, Vernon Road. Speaker: Douglas Tibbe. "Pacifists and the Labour Party." Questions and Discussions. Members and friends. Richmond PPU.

LONDON, W.1: 7 p.m.; 32 Percy Street (Tottenham Court Rd.). Speaker: Mr. C. James, West Indian author recently returned from Ghana. "Passing away of Colonialism." African Forum.

Wednesday, January 29
BRISTOL: 10.30 a.m.; Board Room (third floor), Gains House, Denmark Street. S.W. Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors.

LONDON, W.1: 6.30 p.m.; Indian Students' Hostel, 41 Fitzroy Sq. "Peace Forum." Questions and discussion with well-known pacifists. Buffet Tea.

Thursday, January 30
HARROW: 8 p.m.; Baptist Oak Hall, College Road. Film show and public meeting. Films: "Shadow of Hiroshima," "Assignment Children." Speaker: Danny Kaye. "Walk to Freedom." Featuring J. Allen Skinner. Harrow PPU.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. Group Discussion. PPU. E.10 and E.11 Group.

LONDON, W.2: 7.30 p.m.; Robert Crosbie House, 62 Queens Gardens. Speaker: Mr. Gene Sharp. "Homage to Gandhi." Sponsored by the Fellowship of Friends of Truth and the Indian Inst. of Culture.

Friday, January 31
BRISTOL: 7 p.m.; 24 Woodbridge Road, Knowle, 4 (off Wells Rd.). Non-Violence and Stephen King-Hall reports. Bristol Central PPU.

LONDON, E.C.2: 12.30 p.m. and 1.30 p.m.; Church of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate. Speaker: Rabbi Leslie Edgar, MA, Liberal Jewish Synagogue, St. John's Wood. "Judaism." National Peace Council.

Wednesday, February 5
OXFORD: 8 p.m.; Wesley Memorial Hall, New Inn Hall St. Film: "Shadow of Hiroshima." Speaker: Prof. Chas. Coulson. Oxford Area Committee. Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests.

Thursday, February 6
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends' Meeting House, Bush Road. Speaker: Nora Douglas. "Children's Paintings." E.10 and E.11 PPU.

Friday, February 7
HULL: 8.15 p.m.; 6 Bond Street. Speaker: Douglas Sowerby. "The Work of the IVS." All welcome. Questions and discussions. Hull PPU.

LONDON, E.C.2: 12.30 p.m. and 1.30 p.m.; Church of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate. Speaker: Rev. Claud Colman. "Christianity." National Peace Council.

LONDON, N.10: 8 p.m.; Friends' Meeting House, Church Crescent, Muswell Hill Road. Free film show, including Danny Kaye's "Assignment Children" in technicolor. North London Action Council for War on Want.

RUGBY: 7.30 p.m.; Brotherhood House. Public Meeting. Chairman: Coun. W. A. Robotham, JP. Speaker: Minnie Pallister. "Our Hope for the Future." PPU.

Every week!

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVS, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1.2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.20-1.40 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

FRIDAYS

BIRMINGHAM: 5 p.m. onwards; Bull Street Meeting House (outside) Peace News Selling.

Miscarriage of what?

LESLIE HALE, MP, reviews

NOT GUILTY, by Judge Jerome Frank and Barbara Frank. London, Gollancz, 18s. THE current interest in miscarriages of justice is a healthy sign, and although there is no field which could provide more fascinating reading and has provided some terribly dull books, I sat down to read this one with a happy optimism which was soon destroyed.

The dust-cover tells us that "the book deals with 36 proven cases of erroneous conviction... the authors' method is to give a detailed description of these cases in batches of three or four." The truth is that 18 cases are dealt with in a single chapter of about 4,000 words, and some cases have not more than three or four sentences allotted to them.

*

The cases dealt with at greater length are almost invariably concerned with wrongful identification, in circumstances obviously likely to lead to error—for example, identification of a single person exposed under a

bright light, or by witnesses in custody of the police responding to the question "Is that him?"

If the book establishes anything, it establishes that where the police are a law unto themselves, where "third degree" can be practised with impunity and arrested men beaten until they confess, where Prosecuting Counsel deliberately suppress evidence favourable to the accused or demand convictions for political motives, where judges are elected and susceptible to Tammany influence, and where proved perjury remains unpunished, one may anticipate a high percentage of wrongful convictions. We knew that already.

DEMOCRACY IN INDUSTRY

By Christopher Farley

WE may desire abolition of war; we may long for industrial justice and greater opportunity or equality for all, but no amount of preaching good will, or reciting the "Golden Rule," or cultivating sentiments of love and equity will accomplish the results.

"There must be a change in objective arrangements and institutions. We must work on the environment, on the transformation of our industrial organisations and not merely on the hearts of men. To think otherwise is to suppose that flowers can be raised in a desert."

With these sentiments was born, at a meeting in London, the new British Society for Democratic Integration in Industry, to be known in short as "Deminty."

"One of the greatest problems of our time," declared Peace News director Wilfred Wellock in his opening remarks, "is the 'unattached man'—and there are many of them.

"Our civilisation has nothing of significance for them. The labour of men day by day should have a more vital relationship with the personality."

After describing the "rich spiritual organic life before the Industrial Revolution," the speaker continued: "Where men do not use their creative powers in their labour, usually they do not use them in their play either.

"Fortunately many people are realising that industry is not developing the human personality... The getting and spending of money is becoming the dominant occupation of our community. That is the degradation of our life. Where," he demanded, "is the art of living when material values are dominant?"

Whole Living

The packed inaugural meeting was attended by many people with a lifetime's experience in industrial relations. It was significant that there were also present many well-known pacifists.

Deminty is based on the principle that "an industrial undertaking should be an enterprise carried on as a joint concern by everyone taking part in it, forming together an organic co-operative group for some necessary social purpose."

This involves decentralisation, the development of personality, and the fostering of good relations with consumers and the local community. The Society, "born out of spiritual convictions," asserts that the realisation of its principles "is only attainable when Democracy in Industry yields itself to the authority, the guidance and the inspiration of Creative Love."

Two well-known successful co-operative co-ownership organisations, Farmer & Sons Ltd. (printers) and Scott Bader & Co. Ltd. (chemicals), have taken the initiative in founding Deminty. Both undertakings were founded by Christian pacifists. The Scott Bader Company refuses to do any work connected with armaments.

Membership of Deminty is invited from both companies and individuals, and associate membership is open to supporters.

Further details are available from the Society's secretary, 109 Kingsway, London, W.C.2.

Co-operative group

First fruits of Deminty are the publishing of a booklet by Wilfred Wellock, "Which Way America? Which Way Britain?" (1s. 9d. post free), on the theme of "Abundance or Abundant Life." The author restates the criticism of the American expanding economy that he made in his now out-of-print pamphlet, "Not By Bread Alone," but his exposition is now more trenchant and penetrating in the light of his latest US lecture tour.

"When entire nations develop devouring habits," says Wellock, "the journey to bankruptcy and destruction may be short and swift in an age when philosophy and religion are at a discount... The outcome is hordes of fragmented mass men who fear and decline responsibility even for their own welfare and future, and swim with the tide on the crest of the waves of conformity whose powerful swell increases daily."

To these problems Wilfred Wellock sees a solution in the spiritual potentialities of man's nature. Many signs of unrest and awakening on the part of fragmented men indicate a renewed search for Whole Living.

Together with the author's "New Horizons" (Housmans, 2s. 9d. post free), this booklet presents a penetrating analysis of Western Civilisation, with powerful suggestions for the means of recovering sanity and living the Good Life.

NOTEBOOK

'Third Force' difficult

THE winter 1957 Journal of the Jewish Peace Fellowship of America, "Tidings", is on my desk, full of searching articles of value to those of other faiths.

Rabbi Steven Schwarschild reports on a recent review of their work made by the Executive of the Jewish Peace Fellowship and of their concern over such issues as the Arab refugees and Israeli armament.

"A 'third force' is becoming increasingly difficult," he writes. "... Jewish pacifists, religious conscientious objectors to official Zionism, and even mere opponents of preventive war and colonialist alliances, are almost automatically identified as Jewish traitors."

Tidings is published quarterly from 132 Morningside Drive, New York 27, USA.

Sir Stephen on TV

COMMENTING on his recent TV appearance, Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall writes in his "News-Letter":

"It was alarming to discover that although some of the panel obviously shared our apprehensions about the present defence strategy, it was—if the questions they asked were a fair guide to the state of their minds—quite impossible for them to suppose that there might be an alternative strategy."

I did not see the programme. The Daily Mail said that Sir Stephen "remained completely unflummoxed"; The Observer, that he "got quite cross and showed it."

THE EDITOR.

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MEETINGS

CONWAY DISCUSSIONS. S. Place Ethical Soc., Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1. Tuesday, Jan. 28, 7.15 p.m. T. B. Bottomore, MSc, "Law and Order in Society." Admission free.

SOUTH PLACE ETHICAL SOCIETY. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1. Sunday, Jan. 26, 11 a.m. India Independence Day. Vadakkan V. Alexander, BA, "Religion and the Secular State in India." Admission free.

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SOPER AT MANSFIELD

★ FROM
PAGE ONE

"I have very little confidence in the wisdom of dictators. One of the most appalling exposés of the twentieth century has been the miserable stupidity of dictators—and if the present process goes on, sooner or later some megalomaniac will press the button and, whether we like it or not, we shall be in chaos."

Dr. Soper said that he did not believe a word of assurances that the H-bombs now being carried in planes were not activated. No one ever told the truth about armaments and the first casualty in war was truth.

"It is inevitable that if you go in for armaments you must lie. Lying becomes the currency of the Cold War—and there is nothing which destroys confidence, the reality of truth, and the basis of thought, as persistent, chronic and epidemic lying.

"You and I are compelled in this so-called Christian age to throw our moral authorities overboard if we are to persist in this insane and immoral arms race. If we go in for the Cold War we cannot tell the truth," said Dr. Soper.

Thorneycroft's resignation

Declaring that he "held no brief for the immaculate conception of Russian policy," was not defending Russia, and was not a Communist—"I've got an American visa!" said Dr. Soper, amid laughter—he said that if some kind of assessment of the moral superiority of one side over the other was required, at the moment it was "awfully hard to come by."

If we persisted in the arms race we should not only eventually and inevitably have war, but in the process we should destroy all the possibilities that now, as never before, we had of giving to untold millions a decent life.

Dr. Soper expressed the conviction that the simple fact that Britain could not afford nuclear tests and the Welfare State lay behind "Thorneycroft's resignation, Hails-ham's perturbation, and Macmillan's indifference."

No leadership in US

In the West there was a growing appreciation of the fact that there was no such thing as leadership. There was something pathetic about the repeated resuscitation of an ailing President in the US because of what might be feared if another and third-rater took his place. There was something equally pathetic in President Eisenhower's persistent efforts to defend his right-hand man, Mr. Foster Dulles—"a brink-totterer who has nothing to add to the mistakes with which his career is littered."

Britain was not at present giving the slightest lead in peace-making.

"I suggest that we are in the process of becoming deluded to the point of insanity because of the false methods that we have adopted and still tend to adopt in our efforts to secure peace. I submit that we are going mentally and intellectually insane in this armament race."

Calling for Britain to read seriously and then accept the first principle of the Sermon on the Mount, Dr. Soper said there should be immediate and unilateral renunciation of H-bomb tests.

"Let us, with what freedom remains to us—and we probably have not the freedom to get the Americans to go home—put a government into power which will put an end to this miserable and fatal process of experimentation with H-bomb weapons."

"I want the whole thing, lock, stock and

barrel, to be put into the cupboard for ever and ever, and for us to 'hang the trumpet in the hall and study war no more.'" (Applause.)

The meeting was organised by Mansfield Peace Group of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and Peace Pledge Union.

FELLOWSHIP PARTY GAINS

TWO borough councillors have resigned from the Labour Party and joined the Fellowship Party. Last November, Mr. P. Deighan, of Lancaster Borough Council, transferred his allegiance, and he now speaks for the Fellowship Party on the Council. A few weeks later Councillor Bob Walsh, of Paddington, broke with Labour and, at the end of December, resigned his seat on the Council.

Prof. N. A. Donkersloop, a member of the Upper Chamber of the Dutch Parliament, has resigned from the Dutch Labour Party and joined the newly established Pacifist Socialist Party.—Agency message.

UNDER OCCUPATION



Members of Quisling's Norwegian fascist party—Nasjonal Samling—are seen during the Nazi occupation of Norway parading through the streets of Hamar, a small town about 130 kilometres north of Oslo.

Faced with a Norwegian fascist party backed by Nazi Germany's occupation troops, school teacher Haakon Holmboe carried on his work in Hamar as the area contact for the Norwegian resistance movement.

Mr. Holmboe was one of thousands of Norwegian teachers who non-violently resisted Quisling's efforts to use them to indoctrinate the youth and organise them as a pilot project in the establishment of the Corporate State in Norway.

He was among about 1,000 of these teachers who were arrested and sent to

concentration camps. After the arrests he became recognised among them as one of their leaders.

Next week, Peace News begins the serialisation of "Kirkenes Journey"—the true story of their heroic non-violent resistance to totalitarianism.

With the assistance of Mr. Holmboe the facts about this dramatic episode in Occupied Europe have been gathered for Peace News by Gene Sharp, the Assistant Editor, during three trips to Norway in the past year.

"Kirkenes Journey" will be extensively illustrated with rare photographs and with drawings made by imprisoned teachers.

Months in preparation, this true story is of significance for all who are interested in examining non-violent resistance as a method of achieving and defending freedom.

Order Peace News from your newsagent, or subscribe by post for yourself or friends, using the coupon on page 2.

By Sybil Morrison

'The greatest of these . . .

"THE GREATEST OF THESE . . ."

Let us ask the British people to insist that negotiations take place between Britain and Russia without on our side any strings, and without insisting upon assurances. . . . Let them protest and proclaim the gospel of love as applicable to the practical affairs of the State.

—Canon L. J. Collins. St. Paul's Cathedral, Jan. 19, 1958.

"Where there is no vision the people perish"—Proverbs XXIX, 18.

AMONG all the different ways advocated by statesmen, political parties, militarist, economists, historians and philosophers, of relieving tensions between the two power blocs, a straight call to "love your enemies", is seldom heard, and certainly not reported.

The bankruptcy of top level policies, and the lack of common basis among those striving for an end to nuclear threats, leaves a gap which cannot be filled by resolution or rhetoric and cannot be bridged by fulmination or fear.

Canon Collins speaks as a Christian; a Christian who believes that the words Jesus spoke are the truth; who believes that in the end those words point the way to peace, and that this is the only way.

Macmillan and Eisenhower have given "dusty answers" to the Russian approach: Russia has flashed back with an accusation against the West of manoeuvring to impose conditions.

And so the race in armaments and the cold war goes on; no one knows for how long; no one knows how to stop it; no one seems to even desire to reach an agreement, since prestige and self-esteem apparently come before common sense and humility.

There is a tendency to shy away from the word "love"; to preserve it only for those near and dear, and to deny the possibility of loving a dictator or a torturer, a murderer or a thief.

Yet "love" is boundless in its meaning, and needs to be interpreted in essence as the charity which "suffereth long and is kind", which is "not easily provoked" and "thinketh no evil"; which "beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things", and which in fact, "never faileth."

This is the love that in national and political questions has never been tried. Whenever Russia makes a proposal it is greeted with suspicion, and even derision. Counter proposals are then made, which, it is obvious, must be unacceptable.

This process has been going on for so long that it seems as though it had become automatic; there is no indication of any deep thought, or earnest consideration, let alone any sign of vision.

To see further than eyesight, to hear more than the everyday question and answer of political jargon, to know beneath the surface the truth, is perhaps beyond the powers of statesmen with their ingrained military assumptions, and their doctrinaire attitude to foreign policy.

Yet it becomes clearer every day that unless a way be found through the barricades of bombs and bayonets, missiles and Sputniks, the people must perish.

The ultimate disaster cannot be warded off for ever by the puerile thrust and parry of power political fencing; some day statesmen must come to terms with the situation they have themselves created.

To love your enemy is no new vision; it was given to the world 2,000 years ago, but to relate it to State affairs has never been considered as practical policy.

Nevertheless, time is growing short, and if the human race is not to perish, this vision of a world governed by charity, clemency, leniency, generosity, tolerance and understanding, must become a reality.

It is no "cranky" ideal; it is the only possible and positive way to peaceful living; to love is to eliminate the enemy, and when there is no enemy there will be no war.

It is good that this has been preached from a church pulpit, but it needs to be spoken "in the market places", and "shouted from the house tops", for the country which follows this star and takes this path out of the impasse will be the country to save, not only its own people, but the world.

Algeria

work law proves unworkable, if the insurgents increase their activity in the spring, if our economy deteriorates still further, the voice of those who are pressing for a negotiation will gain favour in ever wider circles and become the voice of the majority of Frenchmen and also in parliament.

Peace Pledge Union AGM NOMINATIONS & MOTIONS

ALL nominations for the election of officers and nine additional members of the National Council must be received at Dick Sheppard House, 6, Endsleigh St., W.C.1, by the first post on January 31, and be accompanied by a written consent to serve.

All motions for the Annual General Meeting agenda must also be received by the first post on January 31.

STUART MORRIS.

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United Nations and negotiation

THE General Assembly of the United Nations on December 10 approved unanimously (France not voting and South Africa absent) the following resolution:

"The General Assembly, having discussed the question of Algeria, recalling its resolution 1021 (XI) of February 15, 1957,

"1. Expresses again its concern over the situation in Algeria;

"2. Takes note of the offer of good offices made by His Majesty the King of Morocco and His Excellency the President of the Republic of Tunisia;

"3. Expresses the wish that in a spirit of effective co-operation 'pourparlers' will be entered into, and other appropriate means utilised, with a view to a solution in conformity with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter of the United Nations."

The UN-Algeria resolution of February, 1957, had called for "a peaceful, democratic and just solution" to the Algerian problem.

APPEAL

French Foreign Minister Christian Pineau called the latest UN resolution "very satisfactory," while the Algerian Front of National Liberation noted the resolution "with satisfaction."

FLN reaffirmed "its willingness to undertake negotiations in view of a settlement of the Algerian problem in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter" and on the basis of the joint communique of the King of Morocco and the President of Tunisia.

Monghi Slim of Tunisia said the UN resolution "calls on France to follow the path of negotiations, and to accept the Moroccan and Tunisian offer of mediation." France has rejected this offer.

REACTION

The full text of their mediation appeal reads:

"His Majesty, Mohammed V, King of Morocco, and His Excellency, Habib Bourguiba, President of the Tunisian Republic, met at Rabat on November 20 and 21, 1957, for joint consultations as provided in the Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation concluded between the two countries.

"They examined the problems of common interest; they declared, with satisfaction, their perfect agreement and decided that periodic meetings would be organised in the future.

"The two Chiefs of State gave particular attention to the Algerian problem.

"Considering the conflict opposing their Algerian brothers, to whom they are bound by innumerable ties, and the people of France, their friends, His Majesty the King of Morocco, and His Excellency, the President of the Tunisian Republic, address an urgent appeal to both parties that negotiations be undertaken which would achieve a just solution, leading to the concretisation of the sovereignty of the Algerian people in conformity with the principles of the United Nations, and also the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of France and French nationals.

OFFER

"For this purpose the two Chiefs of State offer to place their good offices at the disposal of France and the authorities of the Front of National Liberation. They are convinced that in this way an end can be put to the bloodshed and to this combat which menaces the security and stability of North Africa, and compromises the peace in this part of the world."

This offer has not been withdrawn. It is possible that it might again become the focal point of efforts to achieve a peaceful solution to the Algerian war.

VIOLENCE

"To any conscious human being Algeria provides day after day material to strengthen the conviction that violence is the worst possible method to keep an empire and also the worst possible method to rid oneself of foreign domination."

—Hein van Wijk.

ALGERIA



This Algerian refugee, near Oujda, Morocco, November 1957, has lost five sons in the Algerian war. He lives on a ration of 22 lbs. of barley grain a month and a little powdered milk, and in a tent made of grass. In two working days he can make a basket which can be sold for 6d.

Frenchmen who are ashamed

By Hein van Wijk

Translated by Hilda von Klenze

THERE are those in France who understand the character of the Algerian tragedy. They are persecuted in their own country as "traitors" and are as defenceless "the true French," as they are against criminal proceedings from the government.

One Frenchman who put his thoughts into practice was General Jacques Paris de Bollardiere.

General de Bollardiere was in command of some troops near Algiers. He saw that the general tactics consisted of destroying as much as possible as thoroughly as possible and at the same time winning as few of the population as possible for a pacification which could really pacify.

"This destruction on a grand scale," the General declared, "is not in keeping with the aim which has been openly avowed—to restore peace and to establish a way of life which is acceptable both to the European and the Muslim members of the population."

"Since the policy of violence is blind, it must from the outset look at every Muslim as an enemy or at least a suspect, while the principle of pacification must be to regard every Muslim as a friend. The more the Muslims are made to feel

suspect, the more they will withdraw from us.

"This policy is defended as 'military realism.' But it is not realism to kill innocent Muslims in cold blood. You cannot restore peace that way. Such deeds are not only senseless, they are harmful. They must be condemned outright. Every murder of an innocent person is a defeat for us.

"But the order which leads to these mistakes is itself an error if the mistakes are not the exception but the rule.

"The great error is this: the law does not recognise that the life of a Muslim has the full weight of a human life. It will not give to the Muslim what in his eyes is the highest price and of greater value than social insurances, financial benefits, holidays, and all other social measures—namely full human dignity."

In order to rectify this fundamental mistake Colonel Barberot and his officers set up the black commandos.

The black commandos or nomad commandos consist of small groups of five to ten men who, with an interpreter, roam through the villages in the neighbourhood.

They remain in one place for a few days, talk to the people, live with the people, sleep in their houses, care for the sick, distribute medicine, and gain the confidence of the natives. Servan-Schreiber has described it in *L'Express* (March 29, 1957). It should be noted that this project was started, not by Gandhi but by a general.

PEACE NEWS SUPPLEMENT OF FACTS AND VIEWS ON THIS 3-YEAR-OLD WAR

General de Bollardiere wrote in *L'Express* (also March 29) that it was essential to throw light on these dramatic aspects of this revolutionary war.

"For in this way is revealed the great danger which may result for the French if they forget the moral values in favour of a mistaken consideration of momentary expediency, which up to the present to the exclusion of each other have determined the greatness of our civilisation and our army." General de Bollardiere suffered two months' strict confinement for writing this.

What is the attitude of the supreme command to this new method of attracting the population instead of terrorising it? Colonel Barberot reports that the General Salan and Massu, the Resident Minister Lacoste and Minister Lejeune came in person to see for themselves what was going on. De Bollardiere explained it all to them and pleaded in favour of this genuine pacification which for the first time was in keeping with official directives.

RESIGNATION

Max Lejeune, like Lacoste, a firm adherent to all the prejudices of the fascist Poujade against principles and intellectual and human values, but nevertheless a member of the Socialist Party, Minister on behalf of the ruling section of the party, exclaimed:

"You ought to be ashamed of yourself, General. What you are causing the army to do is not worthy of the army.

"Distributing free medicine! What are the doctors for? Constructing and improving roads! That is the business of the department for public works.

"Are you not ashamed? This is not worthy of you, Bollardiere."

Thus spoke the Minister who, as the official representative of the French workers, for 20 years has talked so much about revolution. Facing a revolution, he plays the executioner on "principle."

Bollardiere tendered his resignation. After a long delay it was accepted. Lejeune's last word: "And to think that we ever made you a General."

REFUSAL

A few weeks later the district pacified by the black commandos had become a battlefield. The parachutists of the Foreign Legion just exterminated the population. The real military tactics had won the day.

Fifty dead. All villages on fire.

Captain Louis Fournier, the Captain Julien of Servan-Schreiber's book, expresses his indignation and disgust in *L'Express*:

It is enough to make you cry with anger. So stupid! So idiotic! So unnecessary! And it could all have been foreseen. Everything that we have been trying to build up in months of devoted labour has been ruined.

This officer, too, resigned his commission. He refused to continue to take part in unscrupulous murder.

When he tendered his resignation his colonel said to him: "What do you want? If you desire the end you must also desire the means."

What end? What these generals mean by the end is to maintain French rule and to force the Algerians to surrender. To that end it is necessary to murder three or four millions, and the rest will come quietly.

Fortunately, there are Frenchmen who think and act differently.

The action of General de Bollardiere and his helpers, the work of men and women who have been tried in Algiers, the many critical articles and books which appear in France about Algeria, all show that there are many Frenchmen who are deeply ashamed of the barbarous behaviour of their government and army in North Africa.



These Algerian refugee children are suffering from eye diseases.

COMMANDER THOMAS FOX - PITT

Secretary of The Anti-Slavery Society for the Protection of Human Rights, who recently investigated the plight of the Algerian refugees in Morocco, reports on the response of British and other philanthropical societies to appeals for help for the Algerian refugees in Morocco and Tunisia.

Help for the refugees

THE Oxford Committee for Famine Relief

comes first because of the promptness with which it realised the urgency of the situation. Within a few weeks of hearing the Algerian Red Crescent appeal five tons of clothing was on its way to Tangier and other consignments followed at intervals.

They have sent a remittance of £200 to the society in Morocco distributing food and clothing to the refugees on the border province, of which £75 is to be spent on drugs for the eye diseases of the children and the balance at the discretion of the society's President.

Clothes have been sent to the Tunisian Red Crescent and other aid to the value of £1,000. The same sum is available for relief to the Algerian refugees in Morocco.

THE Save the Children Fund

has sent to Morocco through the agent of the International Red Cross £100 for buying condensed milk and they have sent 45,000 vitamin tablets (costing £100) which have been carried free of charge by Air France.

They arranged through the International Union for Child Welfare that the Swedish branch of that society should send Dr. Hojer to Morocco to report on the needs of the refugee children. He left for Morocco on Dec. 29.

He has now returned to Sweden, confirming earlier reports on the condition of the refugees. He found malnutrition widespread among children who show its usual signs, extended stomachs and skin diseases. The Swedish society is planning to send soon a medical team of a doctor and nurses to aid the refugees. The society is also appealing to other branches of the International Union for Child Welfare to send help. Dr. Hojer spoke highly of the work of *L'Amicale des Algériens Musulmans d'Oulda*.

THE International Committee of the Red Cross of Geneva has already done great work in Morocco. Until the end of October, when their funds for

this service came to an end they distributed a balanced ration giving 2,000 calories to 40,000 refugees in the frontier province of Oujda. When they left the ration fell to 300 or 400 calories.

At their conference at New Delhi it was agreed to make a world appeal for the Algerian refugees. Their team is now back in Morocco and it is believed that a refugee service has been started in Tunisia.

In response to this appeal the British Red Cross has sent £500 to the International Committee. An additional £218 7s. 6d. has been received for Algerian relief from appeals printed in the Manchester Guardian and in Peace News.

THE National Catholic Welfare Conference of America

has a team distributing American surplus commodity relief to the victims of famine in Morocco. They have been able to deflect some of this aid to the refugees whose need is even greater.

L'AMICALE des Algériens Musulmans d'Oulda

is an Algerian society that was formed before the revolt began in 1954 as a self-help and benevolent society. It has taken on the distribution of rations, clothing and housing to the refugees.

The International Red Cross worked through them and no doubt will again. During the absence of the Red Cross this Society alone supported the refugees from subscriptions in money and goods from the small and by no means wealthy Algerian community and their Moroccan friends.

This has meant great sacrifices on the part of the Algerians in Morocco who were often refugees themselves but were better off than the others because they had found work.

It has supported the courage of the refugees in final victory, as well as provided for their bodily needs. Its President, Mr. Benyakhlef, and a devoted team of voluntary workers, deserve the highest praise.

How France established CONQUEST

ALGERIA was originally populated by Berbers. But as early as the Sixth Century B.C. the country came under foreign domination: first by the Carthaginians, then by the Romans. From 430 to 533 the Vandals were in possession and later the Byzantines.

During all that time the Berbers were able to remain virtually independent in the interior of the country and there was a continuous state of war between them and the dominating power which tried to "pacify" them.

The Arabs were the first Power to be accepted by the Berbers, and with them came Islam. The Arabs arrived in two waves (in 772 and the following years and again in 1052). The Turks landed in Morocco in 1515 and conquered the whole territory. They remained masters, at least in name, until 1830.

In 1515, Algeria became a Turkish regency and after a century gained virtual independence. After that Algeria was an internationally recognised state which entered into treaties with Holland, England, France and America.

The state was sovereign, had clearly marked frontiers and an ordered national life. At its head stood the Bey with a number of Ministers. There were four provinces, Algiers, the East (around Constantine), Tittery (around Medea) and the West (around Oran). The three last were governed by a Bey with a number of Caid, Algiers was directly under the Bey himself.

There were 2,000 schools in the country and four universities: Algiers, Constantine, Tlemcen and Mazoena.

WAR

Science and arts flourished. The large, sparsely populated country had naturally no great need for an army of more than 15,000 men. But it did have a large navy of 66 warships and until 1827 dominated the Mediterranean Sea. The navy was there to combat piracy, as were other navies at that time.

The year 1830 saw the end of this independent existence. In that year France began a war of conquest which cost 100,000,000 francs and for which an army of 40,000 men was mobilised.

It was said that this war was started to restore the honour of France, which had been outraged when on April 29, 1827, the Bey had given the French consul in Algiers a rap with his fan. When that tap was administered everything was already prepared for war.

In 1794 the Bey had been of great assistance to France in the purchase of grain and in 1796 had advanced a loan of 1,000,000 francs free of interest for the purpose of further purchases from the firm of Bacri and Busnach in Algiers.

In 1819 a French commission arbitrarily decided that, instead of 18,000,000 francs, only 7,000,000 were owing to the sellers, and continued to keep the Bey waiting for his money. On April 29, eight years later, the Bey asked the consul, M. Deval, why the French Government did not pay him and left his letters unanswered.

GENERALS

"My government will not answer you," Deval replied, "it would not be any use."

All this seems very trivial, but it does make two things quite clear: the French conquest became possible through serious financial intrigues fostered by the French; and further, Algeria was at that time a sovereign country, internationally recognised as such.

The conquest began with the capture of Algiers, which took one day. The Bey gave himself up and abdicated. The national treasure of 150,000,000 francs fell into the hands of the French. Everything seemed at an end.

But the country prepared itself to resist and in 1831 its leadership was taken over by a young emir, El Hadji Abd-el-

Kader. For 16 years Abd-el-Kader stood his ground against superior French forces.

One truce after another was made and broken. The country was divided and redivided, awarded and reconquered. There was constant uncertainty.

In France (just as after 1945) no one dared take responsibility. The Ministers did not like to because of the electorate; they allowed the generals a free hand and, whenever anything terrible happened, they knew nothing about it and therefore were not responsible.

The French King wanted a "limited conquest"; he had no wish to have to administer more of the country than was absolutely necessary. The generals wanted total surrender.

LIQUIDATED

To conquer half a country is not to conquer at all. "Our national prestige would not allow our soldiers to be beaten by natives." Therefore, only total conquest could be tolerated.

This was the programme: "We shall not civilise the natives. Therefore we have to push them out as far as possible. Just as wild beasts of prey leave the neighbourhood of human settlements, they must be driven to the far limits of the Sahara, giving way to our progress."

The methods of violence whereby the conquest was carried out have been graphically described by many high ranking officers: Cavaignac, Changarnier, D'Hérissou, Lamoricière, Montagnac, Pelissier, Saint-Arnaud.

These civilised brutes were no more ashamed to own their deeds than their modern successors are ashamed of the cruel injustices they are committing. In Janson's *L'Algerie Hore La Loi* (II, 1956) an anthology is to be found.

It all began in 1832. The general in command suspected that the tribe of the El-Oeflias had been guilty of theft.

The tribe was "therefore" liquidated. Afterwards it transpired that they were completely innocent. It had been a mistake.

On instructions from General Rovigo, a military unit stationed at Algiers left the town on the night of April 6, 1832. At dawn they surprised the members of the tribe asleep in their tents and murdered every one of the unhappy El-Oeflians, who did not even try to defend themselves.

"Every living soul was killed without regard for age or sex. When our troops returned from this shameful expedition they carried the heads of the murdered on the points of their lances."

LOOTING

Thus a custom was established. Complaints were exchanged. The *Moniteur Algerien* wrote in October, 1836: "Today 20 heads have been cut off; at the camp 68 can be counted on the points of the bayonets. That is truly pretty work and a good beginning."

The troops developed a taste for looting. General Changarnier wrote:

"My soldiers were really pleased with the repeated raiding of different tribes which I undertook during the winter."

Dieuzaide, in his *Histoire de L'Algerie*, amplifies this: "All the cattle had been sold to the consul of Denmark. The rest of the booty went to the market of Bab-Azoum. There you could find ladies' bracelets still fastened round cut-off wrists, and earrings still attached to bits of flesh. The profits of the sales are divided among the murderers. On the evening of this for ever accursed day the police ordered the Arabs to illuminate their shops to indicate 'their joy'."

In revenge a French detachment was cut to pieces. Whereupon General Rovigo had two Arab leaders, who happened to be in Algiers under a safe-conduct, sentenced to death.

In the autumn of 1833 a committee of enquiry stated amongst other things: "Without regard for anybody we have desecrated temples, graves and the sacred

FRENCH JUSTICE IN ALGERIA

A TERRIBLE little book, "Pour Djamil Bouhired" by George Arnaud and Jacques Verges, has very appropriately been published by *Les Editions de Minuit*, under which sign a number of books were published during the German occupation of France.

"Pour Djamil Bouhired" is indicative of an even blacker midnight, for it describes a moral darkness for which the French themselves are responsible.

Djamil Bouhired is a 22-year-old Algerian girl who worked for some months for the Front of National Liberation (FLN), the Algerian rebels against French rule. She was employed as a courier.



Djamil Bouhired

Last April 26 she was shot through the back by a French patrol, handed over to the parachutists, who retained her for 17 days, and tortured her by methods that, judging from copies of complaints made by other prisoners that have been sent to Peace News, have now become standard practice.

The methods of torture adopted by these men who are doing the work of France almost invariably include some aspects that are sexually obscene, quite likely often resorted to because of the greater suffering that can thus be inflicted and not merely for sexual outrage.

In the case of Djamil Bouhired, however, both these factors were present: her torturers obviously found satisfaction in sexual indecency and only too probably found sadistic pleasure in inflicting pain.

Her own comment is here the final word: "The officers who have tortured me have not the right to humiliate the human being as they have done, physically on my person, and morally on themselves."

The purpose of this book is to reveal the travesty of legal processes during her "trial". Djamil Bouhired admitted and gave an account of her work for the FLN. She refused, despite torture, to disclose the whereabouts of her associates.

REVENGE

The charge made against Djamil Bouhired was that she was an accomplice in one of the acts of terrorism in the European portion of Algiers early last year.

She was charged with carrying the bomb to another woman, Djamil Bouazza, who placed it where it would explode in the café. The trial was suddenly brought forward from September to July. (The UN General Assembly was to meet in Sept.)

It becomes apparent that the court was making a deliberate attempt to make the charges against Djamil Bouhired include this act in order to placate the rage for victims being shown by the European inhabitants of Algiers.

Apparently the President of the Permanent Tribunal of the Armed Forces of Algiers had accepted the function of first assassin.

If the Nuremberg Tribunal on war crimes had any real foundation in morality, a similar body would now be available to undertake the examination of those responsible for the trial's conduct.

The President in the course of this trial admitted in evidence the statements alleged to be made under torture, but would not permit the complaints made by the prisoners about torture to be presented. How the statements were obtained, he held, was irrelevant.

The only witness against Djamil Bouhired was Djamil Bouazza, who first accused her, then withdrew her statement, saying that she had made it to shield her lover, then withdrew this second avowal.

Her evidence here would in any case have greatly been in question, but she gave increasing signs that she was no longer sane. For example, she levelled her finger at those in the Court and, as

By J. Allen Skinner

if she had a machine-gun, said "tac-tac-tac-tac".

The President finally had to call for her removal from the Court. When brought back to confirm a part of her testimony, before the President had come to the needed point, she again began "tac-tac-tac". "You see, she confirms it," he remarked, and immediately had her removed. She had started to undress.

Djamil Bouhired had asserted her innocence of the charge that she was involved in the café explosion. She claimed—contrary to the prosecution—that she had made no statement at all, even under torture, that she was concerned with it.

The prosecutor brought into court in the earlier hearings only, copies of her alleged statement. On the last day the "statement" itself was produced. She denied the signature was hers. A request that the handwriting, that was different from that of her signed letters, be examined, was refused. The prosecution had brought medical

evidence to say that, despite her behaviour in Court, Djamil Bouazza was sane. Requests by her defendant and M. Verges, for Djamil Bouhired, that they should be able to nominate somebody to make an examination, were equally refused.

At this point M. Verges refused to take further part in the proceedings, although he desired to deliver his speech for the defence at the end of the hearing.

The President then asked Djamil Bouhired if she would accept an advocate appointed by the Court. She refused. An advocate of the Algerian Bar was nevertheless appointed to act "for her".

Despite her having persistently declared her innocence, he pleaded guilty on her behalf. The President accepted the plea, M. Verges was denied the opportunity to make his speech for the defence and Djamil Bouhired was condemned to death.

The names of these two remarkable exponents of French justice overseas, the President, and the imposed advocate, are M. Roinard and Maître Laïne.

A FRENCH VIEWPOINT Algeria: a way out

By Felicien Challaye

HOW can the war against Algeria be brought to an end? If one does not assume that one has the gift of prophecy, it is impossible to reply to this question other than by setting out what one judges to be desirable and the means to its achievement.

Three necessities appear to impose themselves.

1. To bring the war to an end immediately because it is, like every war, the crime of crimes and the extreme of madness.

It is necessary to bring an immediate end to the crimes committed by the *fellagha* terrorists, and to the crimes committed by the killers and torturers, the parachutists and the other French military and police.

2. Proclaim—with a time-limit that should not be set many years ahead—an Algerian Republic. The realisation of this is required by justice. For 130 years France has imposed its domination by violence over groups of Algerian Arabs and Kabyles.

At the present time, from one end of the world to the other, these alien dominations based on force are disappearing. The right of each people to govern itself must be recognised everywhere.

3. The liberation of Algeria does not necessarily involve the separation of the two peoples. There is no reason why a modern nation should be inhabited only by its own nationals. The foreigners have the right to live wherever they work and thus serve the local population.

Those among the French of Algeria who have not bullied, exploited, and treated the Arabs and Kabyles with cruel contempt have the right to live by their side in a land where many of them were born.

The 400,000 Algerians who come to work in the factories of France have the right to continue to live there so that they may be able, by the transmission of their salaries, to aid their families.

How should this triple objective be attained?

More Frenchmen

It is impossible to look for the end of the war without the recall of M. Lacoste; and this supposes a very different orientation of policy in the Government, Parliament and public opinion. It is not impossible, however, to hope for such a change.

A growing number of French people are coming more and more to understand the criminal absurdity of this war.

Many consent to it only on the condition that they are not called upon to pay for it. It appears impossible today to continue the war without a considerable reduction in all other Government expenditure, and there are many who will not accept this.

The change in public opinion can influ-

ence the Government and Parliament. Let us assume the despatch to Algiers of another Minister for Algeria, who is bent on creating a new psychological climate which will permit the ending of hostilities.

Such a Minister would expel from Algeria the 30 Frenchmen most hostile to Franco-Arab co-operation: leading politicians, influential journalists, exploiters, cynics, and also the ten or so young people who involve the students in street brawls.

At the same time he would bring back into activity the numerous liberal-minded Frenchmen still under arrest. He would liberate all the Algerian Moslems who have committed no other crime than to desire the independence and well-being of their country.

Such a new climate being created it will become possible to hope for the end of hostilities. It will then be necessary to bring together round a table the representatives of the various Algerian political tendencies.

The choice of these representatives cannot be left to the wishes of the French Minister or to the decision of a single Algerian group.

Swiss model

It is here that recourse to the Sultan of Morocco and the President of the Tunisian Republic would be particularly useful. These have already rendered a great service in offering their assistance.

Under their aegis the representatives of all political tendencies would settle important questions such as the constitution of a provisional Franco-Arab-Kabyle Government; the organisation of elections to take place under an international inspectorate; and the main lines of the future constitution.

One might hope that an Algerian Republic could be inspired by the excellent model furnished by the Swiss Confederation, with its various cantons, each endowed with a large degree of autonomy, all living side by side without a desire to dominate.

The Algerian Republic could include cantons predominantly French, such as Algiers and Oran, and cantons predominantly of exclusive Arab or Kabyle.

The central government, which would be Franco-Arab-Kabyle, would have as its main task the maintenance of harmonious relations between the cantons, the safeguarding everywhere the rights of all, and finally would seek to establish cordial relationships with metropolitan France, Morocco, Tunisia and the rest of the world.

The French in Algeria and the Algerians in France could possess a dual nationality. And it might be hoped that a close association could be developed between Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia in a Mahgreb which some day could find a place in a Commonwealth of peoples of the French language.

FRAMEWORK LAW no answer—Algerians

THE French Government's *loi-cadre*, framework law, for Algeria has been strongly criticised by Algerian spokesmen.

The *loi-cadre* was passed by the French National Assembly on Nov. 29 by 263 votes to 200. It is now being considered by the French Senate.

The Senate passed the *loi cadre* with minor amendments on Jan. 18 by 163 votes to 129. It now returns to the National Assembly for what is expected to be its final reading.

Article 1 of the *loi-cadre* describes "Algeria as an integral part of the French Republic, one and indivisible, and its inhabitants as French citizens." This is vigorously opposed by the nationalists.

A memorandum issued by the New York office of the Algerian Front of National Liberation (FLN) states: "This formula blocks any peaceful solution since it closes the door to any prospect of independence for the Algerian people, and completely disregards the principles of the Charter of the United Nations—notably the 'right of peoples to self-determination'."

Under the scheme of the *loi-cadre* Algeria is divided into several "autonomous territories" on geographical and ethnic lines "each having a territorial assembly and a community council."

DIVIDE AND RULE

Although there would be elected assemblies and councils in Algeria under the *loi-cadre*, the French have reserved the following subjects which would be under the sole jurisdiction of the French Government:

"National status, common law in civil matters, foreign affairs, national defence and military establishments, recruitment, general security;

"Institutional organisations of Algeria and the electoral régime;

"Money, currency exchange, the treasury, customs, duties and State budget;

"Justice, the penal code;

"Organisation and control of the educational system, or of establishments granting diplomas of the Republic;

"Control of resources in the public domain, mines and power;

"Public services of the State, and national public establishments."

The Algerian spokesmen ask "What attributes remain with the territorial assemblies?"

They quote former Minister Defferre, author of the *loi-cadre* for the Territory:

"Actually, by dividing Algeria into several territories, by attributing certain powers to the territories it thus wishes to create, the Government hopes successfully to oppose them, one against the other, in such a manner that they will ultimately refuse to federate and re-unite... It is the old hope: divide and conquer."

They charge that "the *loi-cadre* binds Algeria to France more firmly and irrevocably than before. It solemnly affirms the myth of 'Algeria—a French Province'."

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